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AUTHOR Kuvlesky, William P.
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ABSTRACT

Utilizing data from several studies done at Texas A&M University during the last 12 years, this paper develops a systematic interpretation of the idea of "minority-group orientation" and tests the adequacy of these concepts as an aid to understanding potential diversity among rural Mexican American youth with regard to intergroup fusion. The paper lists three major levels of interpenetration (cultural, social-structural, and psychological) and elaborates on four subtypes under each major level. An assessment of the data as it relates to the interpenetration levels produces these conclusions: (1) few rural Mexican American youth desire extreme ethnic differentiation; (2) a substantial amount of diversity exists in both nature and degree; (3) the major type of orientation desired across the level-type in each case represents "substantial" but not "complete" fusion; (4) in terms of cultural and social-structural fusion, subjects were possibly not uniformly in favor of comprehensive intergroup fusion; (5) females are more likely to be assimilation-oriented than males. (CM)

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MINORITY GROUP ORIENTATIONS: ARE RURAL MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH ASSIMILATION-PRONE OR PLURALISTIC?

William P. Kuvlesky

The Texas Agricultural Experiment Station

Texas A&M University

Paper presented at the 1979 annual meetings of the Association for Humanist Sociology, Johnstown, Penna., October, 1979. This paper contributes to TAES Research Project H-3286, "Quality of Life As Influenced By Place of Residence" I dedicated this paper to all my past and present students of my course Sociology 317, "Ethnic Groups in The U.S.". Their alert minds and probing questions stimulated the basic notions described here. I want to acknowledge the important assistance rendered by Melinda Abshire and my wife, Eileen Kuvlesky, for typing this manuscript.

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Ethnic Entities and Intergroup Processes

Reading textbook presentations of how intergroup ethnic and racial processes operate one gets the impression that we have well defined blobs of different colored putties merging, fusing or bumping off each other. Warner's early notions of interracial contact and Greeley's notion of ethnogenesis each fit this characterization in different respects in that they assume relatively well-defined, individually separated, cohesive, and homogeneous "group" entities engaging each other within the larger context of society.[1] My experience in researching ethnic and racial groupings of the U.S. population lead me to question these notions. Milton Grodon's and Feagin's notions, while perhaps better addressing the complexity of actual reality in this regard in respect to viewing intergroup processes as involving a number of dimensions, still tend to assume the existence of "groups".[2] All the above imply, or at least do not clearly deny, that the subunits of society involved in these interpenetrating frames are boundary differentiated, self-concious, partially organized entities sharing common social status, attributes, and interests.

Recently, anthropologist, George Hicks (1977:9-12) has called clear attention to the muddled and ambiguous way we in sociology tend to use the term "Ethnic group" to include both internally organized and cohesive social units and, at the same time, simple categories of people having one or more characteristics in common and constituting a part of a larger population. He suggests the need to treat these two kinds of units as distinctly different aspects of reality because one important question or issue to be addressed in ethnic studies is how and why an ethnic category can become an organized group. I believe he has a very good argument and I agree with him in this regard for several reasons as follows:

(1) They represent two clearly different aspects of reality and confounding these can only produce confusion, not understanding.

(2) Historical dynamics can transform ethnic categories into ethnic groups, or, ethnic groups into status categories and these transformations have important consequences for the collection of people involved and for the larger society.

In my opinion when we treat "ethnic group" as a unit of a larger macro entity we are in fact dealing with what Hicks labels an "Ethnic category". It is important that we become aware of this to prevent the all too apparent tendency to "reify" our conceptions along the lines of the connotations the term "group" carries for us: relative homogeneity in ways of life, values, orientations and interests plus internal organization.[3] At least in some societies and some times many so-called "ethnic minority groups" do not possess these characteristics. The U.S. today is such a case. Consequently, when we speak of Mexican Americans in the U.S. we are referring to an "ethnic category" within the larger population: a category of people sharing a common sense of historical origin or treated by others as having a common historical origin. At the macro level this social entity is not organized, nor do all the members of this collectivity share a common "subculture" (i.e. "The Mexican American Subculture").[4] The label Mexican American embraces a diverse set of local populations, families, and individuals differing in many ways in varying degrees.[5] This is an important point to keep in mind as we address the question providing the empirical focus of this paper: "Are Mexican American Rural Youth Assimilation-Prone or Pluralistic?"

The Problem

The concept of patterned minority-group orientations toward preferred relations with a dominant group is not new. This notion is being used increasingly as a way of categorizing members within ethnic and racial minorities relative to nature of or magnitude of ethnic identity (i.e., "ethnicity").[6] While terms such as "separatist", "assimilation-prone", "pluralist" and "bicultural" are used widely by social scientists and others in this regard, little has been done to systematically order these notions within a more inclusive frame or to attempt explicating these concepts in an empirically measureable sense. Consequently, we have little in the way of accumulated empirical knowledge to test or evaluate the numerous assertions made about the distribution of "Minority-group orientations" among any particular social unit of this type.

The purpose of this paper is to attempt to develop a systematic explication of the idea, "minority-group orientation" and to at least partially test the utility of these concepts in gaining an understanding of potential diversity among Mexican American youth, utilizing data from several studies of these youth carried out at TAMU over the past 12 years.

Minority-Group Orientations

I recall six or seven years ago arguing for the need to distinguish between the ideas of numerical advantage and power relationships by reserving the terms of "Majority" vs. "Minority" for numerical relations and "Dominant" and "Subordinate" for power relationships. While others have persisted in this crusade for conceptual clarity in use of terms, I have given up.[7] I define a "Minority Group" simply as a social category of a population that is clearly

differentiated within a larger population on some common set of properties which are negatively evaluated by the dominant group and which, as a consequence, have the addition following characteristics:

(1) Experience as a collectivity perjorative treatment (i.e.. negative prejudice and social discrimination).

(2) Are sensitized to their common negative status and patterns of ill treatment (i.e., share a common social identity and group awareness).

(3) Have evolved to some extent visible leaders and interest organizations (i.e., "Minority Leaders" and Minority Organizations") which attempt to represent the interests of the category as they interpret it.

Nonethnic categories such as "Women", "Teenagers", "Aged", and "the disabled" fall within this definition.[8] Also, obviously many, even most, of those social categories we label ethnic and racial "groups" fit this definition and thereby can be labeled Minority Groups. Mexican Americans certainly are one of these.[9]

Majority-Minority Relations

In the literature on ethnic and racial relations dealing with notion of intergroup contact, interpenetration, and interaction there is a long history of concern with how majority and minority groups (i.e. social categories) desire ideally to structure a relationship between themselves within the larger context of society or community. The idealized states or relationship are referred to as "Majority Group Policies"[10] and "Minority Group Orientations".[11] It must be made clear here that these are conceptualized as normative ideals, goals, or aspirations and not the actual patterned relationship existing between the two units. Obviously, the relationships existing between the projected

idealized states and the state of relationship actually existing is a very important variable in itself: differing combinations of these idealized states and patterns of actual unit relations should lead to different immediate consequences in the nature of intergroup conflict given otherwise similar conditions in the society. (Schermerhorn, 1970: 77-85)

The confusion rapant in this dimension of intergroup relations is apparent in the major writings on this topic. For instance, in an older statement still being used widely in teaching Simpson and Yinger (1965:20-25) refer to "Types of Majority Policy" in this regard: these include assimilation, pluralism, legal protection, population transfer, subjugation, and extermination. Although they allude to the fact that "Minority groups" might also exhibit "policies", or more accurately desired states of relationships, they do not treat this systematically in comparison with the so-called prevaling "majority group policy". Several other widespread ambiguities in the conceptualization of this aspect of reality characteristic of sociological statements are exhibited in this piece by Simpson and Yinger. They do not distinguish clearly the actual patterns of majority-minority group relations from what they label, "majority policy". In fact, they tend to infer the latter from assertions about the former. In addition, they tend to exhibit a tendency to reify the notion of "groups" in reference to treatment of majority and minority ethnic categories within a society, implicitly assuming homogencity and agreement on "majority policy" orientations or minority group inclinations reactions or evaluations of these. Regardless of the majority group policy implemented by those in power toward a particular minority there will be variability among both groups in reference to what is perceived as ideal in this regard. (Schermerhorn: 82-84)

Other more recent writers exhibit the same tendency for ambiguity in this regard (Feagin, 1978:25-45; Dworkin and Drvorkin, 1976:Chpt.6;

Griessman, 1975:Chpt.6 and Bahr, Chadwick, and Stauss, 1979:Chpt.19). This sampling of current texts widely used in teaching courses about ethnic and minority groups clearly indicate that conceptual confusion in our attempts to understand the reality of majority-minority group relations is still rampant.

My notion of "minority group orientations" as patterned orientations representing an ideal state or desired state of intergroup relations evolved from the notions of Dworkin and Dworkin (1976:Chpt.6) in analyzing "the resolution of minority-group status" where they treat assimilation, pluralism, etc. as "outcomes" of relationships between majority and minority units. My understanding of social reality is that there are at least three perspectives or dimensions of social activity that must be considered in attempting to understand the nature and dynamics of intergroup relations between majority and minority groups. These are as follows:

(1) An objective appraisal of the actual patterning of relation ships between the two social categories involved at varying levels of social organization (i.e., macro through micro)[12]

(2) Patterns of "majority-group orientations" toward the idealized or desired relationship with the minority specified.[13]

(3) Patterns of "minority-group orientations" defined in the same manner as for the majority-group.[14]

It seems logically self evident to me that the nature of the prevailing patterns of these three sets of variables and how they interact at varying levels of social organization (i.e., society, region, metropolitan area, or neighborhood) may differ; and, that these differences are important in attempting either to predict outcomes for society or meliorating actual or potential hostilities Figure 1.

Obviously the extent to which a minority group member's "minority-group orientation" fits the actual patterns will influence his or her general life satisfactions or subjective definition of the quality of their life.[15]

As an aside, by this time you are undoubtedly aware that I have concentrated my review on the so-called "order" or "assimilation" theorists and have ignored the so-called "conflict" perspective. I have done this because the former perspective has more utility for the conceptual elaboration of the notion of minority-group orientation than the latter, which I think is more empirically limited and thereby too narrow for my prupose. At the same time, it is my judgement that the advocates of the "internal colonialism" or "dual labor market" models of majority-minority relationships would exhibit the same problems of conceptual ambiguity and the tendency for reification of the group notion as already described for the assimilation theorists. At any rate, I don't see these two perspectives as incompatable. (Schermerhorn, 1970: Chpt. 1).

It is obvious that we can debate the terms used to label different conceptual elements identified in Figure 2. For instance, the term of "Separatist" as used to specify a particular "Minority Group Orientation" might be used by some to represent essentially what we mean by "Pluralism" in the sense that it might indicate a desire of minority group members for some degree of partial (i.e., local) political autonomy, while achieving integration in other respects (i.e. economic structures). I do not deny that this scheme needs additional explication, ellaboration and refinement. At the same time, the broad analytical distinctions made are clearly an improvement over the eclectic, unsystematic conceptual treatments we now have. Only systematic application of the scheme to interpret problems in social reality can demonstrate this. At any rate, the attention of this paper from this point on will be narrowly focused on just one part of the scheme, "Minority-Group Orientations."

The scheme in Figure 2 can only partially order the aspects of social reality we need to contend with in addressing the problem of attempting to define clearly elements which enter into structuring orientations of minority-group members toward desired relationships with the majority group. This is because the guiding conception of the framework involved is centered in social contact per se, and then only in a very general way. The recent conceptual development of Gordon (1964:62-83) further modified by others (Greely, 1974; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Feagin, 1978) inform us of the many faceted, multiple dimensional, complex, and dynamic nature of majority-minority group interpenetrations and socially patterned orientations toward these. I think perhaps Gordon's notions as partially modified by Feagin serve as a good starting point in systematically ordering the dimensions of social reality we must focus on in developing a relatively full or comprehensive notion of alternative possible Minority-Group Orientations. This essentially boils down to the fact that we have levels of intergroup penetration, parralleling the analytical of systems levels of human reality, that we need to consider. And, that intergroup interpenetration may take place or not in variable degrees along these different dimensions at any point in time. As I see it there are these four broad levels or types of possible interpenetration, all of which Gordon mentions:[16]

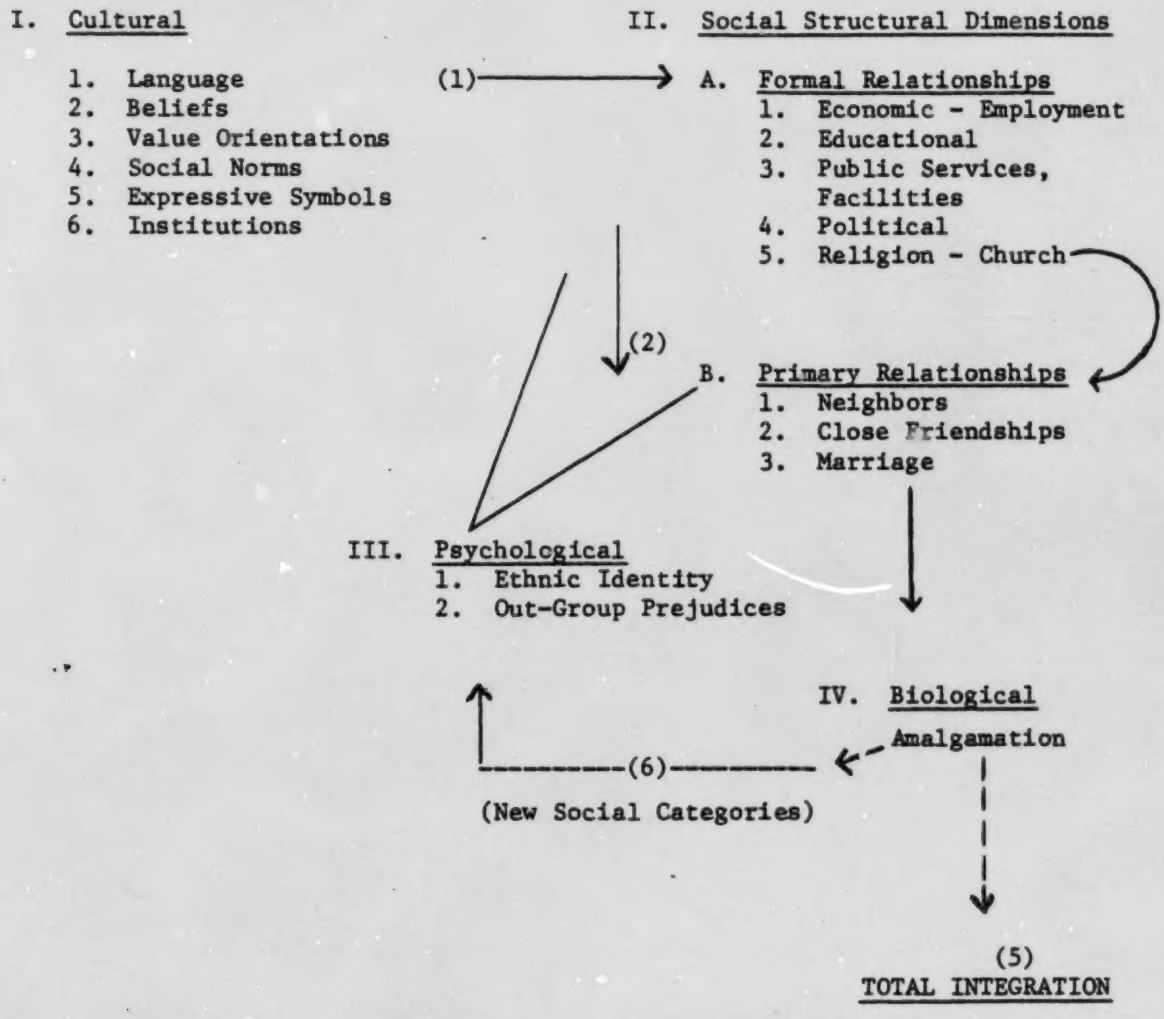
(1)	Cultural	(Cultural assimilation)
(2)	Social Structural	(Structural assimilation)
(3)	Psychological	(Indentification assimilation)
(4)	Biological	(Amalgamation)

Feagin (1978:29-31) essentially modifies Gordon"s basic differentiation of levels or dimensions of assimilation in one important way: Noting the need to distinguish at the structural level between highly formal systems of relations and those that are personal and intensive (i.e. the distinction between secondary and primary

groups). This moves in the right direction but does not go far enough in specifying the number of separate dimensions that must be considered or the complexity of the reality involved in social fusion. Certainly this is the case in viewing Mexican American-Anglo relations in the Southwest. We don't have enough conceptual differentiation at the cultural or social structural levels to develop clear empirical indicators in my judgment. I offer a more elaborate frame as depicted in Figure 3.

As Gordon has proposed, it is probable that assimilation along different broad dimensions can and does proceed at different rates.[17] For instance, in the case of middle class Blacks in the U.S. cultural assimilation has progressed quite rapidly, structural assimilation at the secondary group level in work systems and educational systems in progressing, but structural relationships at the primary level of interpersonal relations is very slow and uneven at best (Feagin, 1978:29-30). But, to extend this line of thought as I have done in Figure 3, it is also possible that uneven rates of assimilation occur among elements or dimensions within these broad levels of potential interpenetrations: elements of culture, institutional contexts of secondary associations, and forms of primary relationships. In the case of Mexican Americans I propose this is exactly what is happening.[18] What is more, how can we make judgments about generalizations pertaining to these broader more inclusive level categories (i.e., cultural interpenetration or structural-secondary) unless we can relate them to observed realities in terms of the particulars (i.e., elements or social contexts that they embrace.)? We can not! If this is so for actual patterns of intergroup penetration, then it must also be at least possibly true for how minority groups members evaluate these potential patterns and make judgments about them. Therefore, we will have to look for a variety of indicators at the cultural and two structural levels of interpenetration.

Figure 3. Levels and Dimensions of Potential Majority-Minority Group Interpenetrations and Stages of Intergroup Fusion.*



*The numbered arrows indicated an ordered progression starting with two culturally differentiated ethnic entities and progressing through full assimilation. Of course, it is possible for this process to start, stop, or reverse at any point. Furthermore, it is possible and even probable that alteration taking place at any level will be considered as Greeley (1974) has noted.

Before we proceed to define types of minority-group orientations, it is necessary to face up to the problem of the potential for reification implicit in Figure 3. The staged model described is drawn at a very inclusive and abstract level in terms of presumed prevailing patterns of interpenetration between majority and minority status categories. It is possible that such patterns can not be obtained due to patterned diversity at lower levels of social organization (i.e., regional, local, etc.), or because there is a lot of variability at the level of individual members of a minority category at any or all levels of social organization. We need to look for this diversity and be very cautious not to ignore it in our quest for inclusive generalizations, less we give birth to new stereotypes or lend support to old ones. We must keep in mind we are dealing with social categories of people when we use the term "minority group" as a subunit of society and not an internally organized unit embracing a homogeneous collectivity (i.e., an organized group). The extent to which such social categories exhibit internal organization is problematic and, I propose, most often involves only a small fraction of the total collectivity of members (Rivera, 1979:1-2). This leads me to believe we should find a great deal of diversity among members of any so-called "ethnic minority group" in terms of how they view ideally the projected outcome of present minority-majority group situations. In fact the partial patterning of very different minority group orientations among the portions of the collectivity that are internally organized can explain factioning of so-called "minority organizations" and competition and conflict among different minority organizations associated with a particular minority group: for instance, compare the probable different patterned orientations between members of the NAACP and the Black Panthers.[19]

Given the probable diversity of orientations toward the majority group

(i.e., Anglos) among members of a designated minority group (i.e., Mexican Americans) it is best to ignore the proposed sequential patterning depicted in Figure 3 and instead to simply view the levels and dimensions of intergroup penetration as simultaneous possibilities for structuring patterns of minority group orientations. For instance, we should seek to discover how particular Mexican Americans ideally views intergroup fusion or the lack of it in reference to each element or dimension of the cultural, social structural, and psychological levels. Then we should seek to discover the patterned associations and clusters of these that exist. Obviously, we can logically predict some clusters to be more likely to occur than others. In fact, that is exactly what we do implicitly when we use such terms as "separatist," "assimilation-prone," or "pluralist" to refer to idealized notions about desired intergroup adaptations of minority group members. Minority group members do this among themselves as well: for instance, note the meanings of the use of the term "Coconut" by Mexican Americans to denote a person oriented toward full assimilation in the Anglo world, or conversely, the meaning associated with "Chicano" as used by Mexican American student leaders (Rivera, 1978:6-7). We will address this issue next in an analytical attempt to postulate types of minority-group orientations.

Types of Minority-Group Orientations

Members of ethnic minority groups will have orientations specific to the levels of intergroup penetration (i.e., cultural, etc.) we have already discussed. Furthermore, their orientations in each case can and will vary in terms of the desired degree of interpenetration projected, ranging from none to complete fusion, probably in terms of the dominant group parameters. By cross-classifying these two dimensions of variability we can develop a set of categorically different "minority-group orientations," which then can be

substantively fleshed out and labeled "types". In Figure 4, I present such a cross-classification system and label each of the resulting in terms of what I hope are reasonable symbolic descriptions of the type of orientation represented. The twelve types of minority group orientations resulting from this operation need to be substantively described and then related to the situation and circumstance of Mexican Americans as an ethnic category. I will do this systematically by elaborating each subtype falling under the major levels of interpenetration, starting with the cultural.

Mexican Americans' Minority Group Orientations

A. Cultural Orientations

A(1): Extreme Ethnocentrism

I would expect this type of orientations to be relatively rare among Mexican Americans. It would consist of an absolute denial of the value of any aspect or element of the cultural configuration directly associated with the dominant majority. This would be accompanied by an assumption of the existence of a unique, clearly differentiated minority culture configuration actually existing or capable of being created. Those few Mexican Americans working toward the creation of "Aztlan" and "Chicanismo" probably are exhibiting this orientation, (Rivera, 1978:6-9).

A(2): Assimilation Resistant
A(3): Bicultural
A(4): Full Assimilation

These three types can be distinguished on the basis of the desire to retain unique cultural elements or traits of an ethnic subcultural vrs. accepting equivalents from the culture of the dominant group. Perhaps, with reference to the Mexican American this might be best demonstrated in terms of relative strength of desires for use of

Figure 4: A Two Dimensional Typology of Minority-Groups Orientations.

Degree of Fusion Derived	Levels of Intergroup Fusion		
	A. Cultural	B. Social-Structural	C. Psychological
		Types	
1. None	Extreme Ethnocentric	Ethnic Nationalism	Supreme Ethnic
	←		→
2. Limited	Assimilation Resistant	Seperatism	Prime Ethnic
3. Substantial	Bicultural Dual Mixed	Secondary Integration	Biethnic
4. Complete	Full Assimilation	Full Integration	Nominal Ethnicity or Rejection of Ethnicity
	←		→

16

Spanish vrs. English in varying contexts as demonstrated below:

Language Use	A(2)	A(3)	A(4)
Speaking	Sp.	Sp-Eng.	Eng.
Reading-Writing	Sp.	Sp-Eng.	Eng.
	(Pred. Sub.)	(Dual or Mixed)	(Pred. Maj. Grp)

Obviously, there are many other dimensions of culture. In reference to each one for which a clear distinction can be made between ethnic minority and majority culture a similar comparison could be structured. For Mexican Americans within particular social settings such elements might be kinship values, status aspirations, artistic preferences, and religious identification and practice. Cultural traits such as holidays and celebrations, naming children, and food, clothing, and furniture preferences might also be of utility in this regard.

B. Social-Structural Orientations

B(1): Ethnic Nationalism

This is similar in every respect to Type A(1) and probably strongly associated with it. The distinguishing factor between the two is that ethnic nationalism refers to a desire to faction off from (or out off) the existing society to form a separate, autonomous, boundary-maintaining unit. Perhaps even in rare cases it would be exhibited as a desire for absolute secession and formation of a separate political state. At least some Anglo's have suspected this is the orientation of some militant Chicano leaders; for example, those in Crystal City, Texas.[20]

B(2): Seperatism

This is an orientation likely to exist where Mexican Americans are residing in a large concentration and are predominate in number at the

community or neighborhood level of organization. It is an orientation favoring "local control" of local institutions (i.e., government, protective services, schools, etc.) by a predominant minority population, while still desiring interpenetration through vertical linkages with the dominant group at higher levels of social organization. From the perspective of many Mexican American leaders in South Texas this is the prevailing orientation of those labeled "Militant" by Anglos, including the leaders of the "Crystal City Revolt" (Miller: 1975).

B(3): Secondary Integration

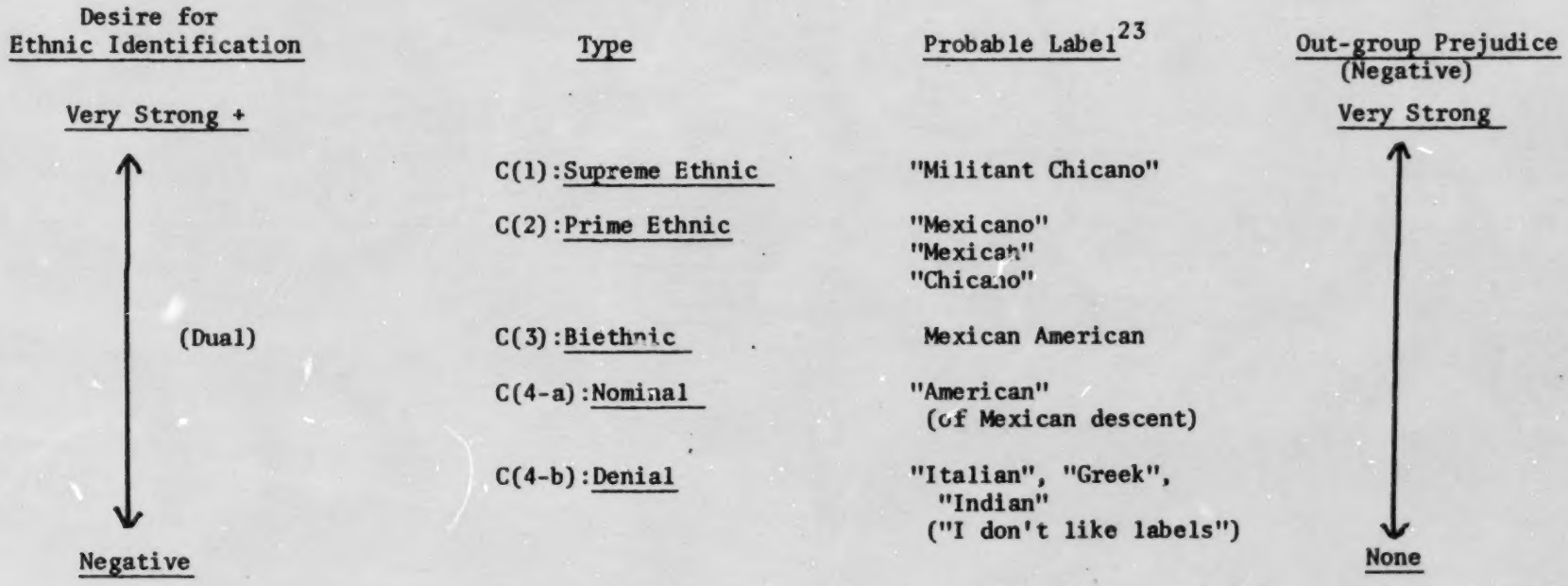
B(4): Full Integration (Secondary and Primary)

Both of these perspectives might be thought of as "assimilation-prone" in that they represent a desire to become intricately intermeshed with Anglos in varying circumstances. The critical distinction is that the "Secondary Integration" perspective is limited to institutional contexts characterized by impersonal relationships (i.e., work systems, school, and public services); in fact, this kind of orientation often, if not usually, would include a negative feeling about interethnic intimacy (i.e., dating and marriage). The full integration type refers to a desire to go all the way--with interethnic neighbors, friends, and even possibly lovers.

C. Psychological Orientations (Ethnic Identity)

The subtypes drawn here are essentially thought of as rough positions along an ordered continuim ranging from very strong ethnic identification to a desire to escape it all together. In Figure 5 I present the indicators for placement of Mexican American subjects relative to these types, using ethnic label preference and strength of negative out-group prejudice.

Figure 5: Types of Psychological Level Orientations and Probable Preferred Ethnic Labels of Mexican Americans (Texas).



Combinations of Types

This more precise conceptual frame of differentiation of minority group desires or goals is a definite improvement over the more simplistic notion that there are simply two inclusive alternative orientations as is represented in Schermerhorn's (1970: 81-82) notion of "centripetal tendencies" or "centrifugal tendencies". This is so because the one I offer here allows for a mixed set of orientations to be held by any given minority group member or subset of them; whereas, in the case of Schermerhorn's scheme minority groups are simplisticly viewed as collectively patterned (i.e., "tendencies") in a simplistic way in desiring either assimilation generally or pluralism generally. While this certainly simplifies comparative analysis of majority vs. minority orientations, as Schermerhorn (1970:83) demonstrates, it ignores the dimensions of interacategorical diversity important in structuring perjorative treatment of the minority and reaction to this.

How do I see these three sets of orientation subtypes combining into cognitive configurations? Personally, I think the extreme types in reference to desired degrees of intergroup fusion may cluster very well. On the otherhand, the types along the mid-sector of this continuim may well combine in a number of different ways. At any rate, this is a question we can not answer well from existing reported research. Consequently, it will have to be addressed in future research.

For the present, it will be sufficient to assess the accumulated evidence we have at hand to see how it relates to the twelve specific types we have formulated here. To do this I will concentrate on a selective analysis of reported findings that have been reported over the last decade from a study I directed on rural Mexican American youth in South Texas. For descriptions of the study areas and respondents involved see Kuvlesky and Juarez (1975) and Kuvlesky and Monk (1975).

Rural Mexican American Youth

Our data set on rural South Texas Mexican American youth was not collected for the purpose of testing the empirical utility of the conceptual framework previously described. Consequently, it will not provide good indicators for all the levels of possible intergroup fusion postulated, or, sufficiently discriminating measures to distinguish between all the subtypes derived for each level. Still, I believe the data will fit well enough, using some cautious but reasoned inference, to provide at least a general portrait of the prevailing patterns of rural Mexican American youths' minority group orientations. As necessary I will try to fill-in voids in reported quantitative data with information I have personally gained from direct personal conversations with rural youth in both Texas and New Mexico.

Analysis of Cultural Orientations

Within the state of Texas the use of oral Spanish among Mexican Americans is very widespread, particularly in the home with family members (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1975). Roughly nine of every ten youth are bilingual in spoken language. We have no direct indicator of preferred language use; however, we do have observations of predominant language used (Spanish vrs. English) over varying social contexts, Table 1. From this we can infer differences in preferences to some extent. While a large majority of youth use Spanish in speaking with their parents at home the situation changes dramatically when it comes to use of language with friends outside the neighborhood. In the later case we have observed a predominant tendency to use either English or English and Spanish both. Clearly, at the very least a large number of the youth we studied must be labeled bicultural. In all my wanderings among Mexican American youth in Texas, I have never met one who thought Mexican Americans should not learn and use English; however,

Table 1. Use of Spanish By Mexican American High School Boys and Girls In Different Informal Social Relationships (in percentages)--1967.*

Language Pattern Used	Parents		Close Friends In Neighborhood		Close Friends In School—Out of Class	
	Male (N=289)	Female (N=307)	Male (N=289)	Female (N=307)	Male (N=289)	Female (N=307)
English	5	7	11	17	20	32
Same amount of both	19	38	35	56	50	55
Spanish	76	55	54	27	30	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
No Information	1	0	1	0	1	0
	$X^2 = 30.28$		$X^2 = 43.90$		$X^2 = 26.96$	
	$df = 2$		$df = 2$		$df = 2$	
	$P < .001$		$P < .001$		$P < .001$	

*Taken from Patella and Kuvlesky (1975:859)

I have met a small number who thought these youth should not be encouraged to learn and use Spanish. Most of the youth I have met and talked with over the years, both in Texas and N.M., favor learning both languages but would emphasize English over Spanish for reading and writing.[21]

Evidence from analysis of status aspirations and expectations of these youth have led to inferences that most of these young people are accepting of the dominant achievement values in our society (Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975; Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975). Still, a small but substantial minority appear to be outside of this dominant cultural ethos, Table 2. In an aggregate sense one could conclude that in reference to this cultural theme most of the rural Mexican American youth studied are assimilation oriented. However, this presumes a clear-cut difference between the ethnic subculture and the dominant culture in this regard to begin with. I doubt that this is a safe assumption now, or even would have been in the past. On the other hand, the intensity of these social aspirations are strong and could easily lead youth to become more assimilation-prone if this is what is required for them to achieve their life goals (Wright, Salinas, and Kuvlesky, 1973).

Our data show that the vast majority of these youth identify as Catholics (Kuvlesky, 1978). This could be viewed as an indication of an ethnocentric orientation; however, I don't think that would be a good judgement for several reasons. First, being a Catholic is not unique to Mexican Americans and, secondly, for most of these youth religious denomination is not viewed as an ethnic trait per se. Certainly in Taos Co., New Mexico youth did not strongly identify with or have much interest in the Catholic Church (Kuvlesky, 1979) and my observations in Texas indicate a similar tendency, particularly among males (Kuvlesky, 1978).

Table 2: Change in Type and Level of Educational Aspiration among Mexican-American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Level of Aspirations	Type of Aspiration	Male 1967 (N=167)	Male 1973 (N=178)	Male Change	Female 1967 (N=171)	Female 1973 (N=200)	Female Change
		Percent	Percent		Percent	Percent	
Low	1. Quit High School	1 (21)	2 (21)	+1 (0)	0 (16)	0 (16)	0 (0
	2. High School Grad	20	19	-1	16	16	0
Intermediate	3. High School plus Tech. Training	23	14	-9	16	12	-4
	4. Jr. College	4 (27)	13 (27)	+9 (0)	13 (29)	20 (32)	+7 (+
High	5. College Grad	32	28	-4	32	27	-5
	6. College Grad plus	20 (52)	24 (52)	+4 (0)	23 (55)	25 (52)	+2 (+
	Total	100	100		100	100	
	No Response	2	0		1	1	
		$X^2 = 14.96$ D.F. = 5 P = .01			$X^2 = 4.38$ D.F. = 5 P = .50		

In summary, based on the inferences noted above, I would say that the majority of rural Mexican American youth are probably maintaining a predominant bicultural orientation, involving a pattern of mixed cultural elements. A substantial but smaller proportion are probably assimilation oriented, and few if any are of the strong ethnocentric type. The conclusion that a mixed rather than a dual bicultural orientation prevails strongly suggests the need to consider more, and a greater variety, of possible cultural elements or traits in future analysis.[22]

Social-Structural Orientations

We have almost no reported data relevant to our focus on orientations toward this level of intergroup fusion from our Texas Youth Study. I doubt that there is any published data available at all on rural Mexican American youth in this regard.[23] I will use personal observations gathered over a decade of study to draw inferences about placement on these types that can serve as propositional guides for future study. In carrying out a recent study during the past year in a predominantly Mexican American county in South Texas, I completed ten intensive personal interviews with Mexican American youth and talked with many others in the communities there about the nature of intergroup relations and their orientations toward these.[24] Also, in the summer of 1976 I had a similar research experience in Northern Taos County, N.M. (Kuvlesky, 1979). I will rely on these observations for the most part here.

To begin with, I have never met a Mexican American young person who indicated a desire for Mexican Americans to separate themselves completely from interaction with Anglos. Consequently, I do not think the "extreme separatist", ethnic nationalsim, orientation occurs very often among any grouping of Mexican American youth and almost never among rural youth populations.

Likewise, only a few of the youth in any particular rural area today have a strong orientation of a separtist type--a desire to realize full ethnic autonomy at the local level. This may represent a change from a prior time, during the early sixties. Where I have studied these things, Mexican Americans have essentially achieved local political control of their residence areas and as a result this is not consciously perceived as a problem by youth in these places: consequently, the young people may, in fact, desire this situation but they are not consciously aware of it, nor, do they perceive Anglos as trying to prevent this from taking place.[25]

The prevelant orientation I observed among youth, both in rural South Texas and in Northern Taos County, was a desire for secondary assimilation. The normal viewpoint represented here was a desire to freely interact with Anglos in school, at work, in community activities of an impersonal sort but to strongly prefer to interact with other Mexican Americans in personal, intensive relationships. Most of these youth desire equal, free access to all the broader, more impersonal contexts of interaction thought to be important to social advancement, but fewer would consider it important to have interethnic friendships or dates: and, very few would desire to marry an Anglo rather than a Mexican American. As an aside, the Taos Co. youth felt stronger about ethnic separation between Mexican Americans and Native Americans than they did about separation from Anglos (Kuvlesky, 1979).

It seems to me that most of these youth are oriented toward partial structural assimilation--most of them drawing a line somewhere that they desire not to go beyond: for a few this line would be drawn at the neighborhood, for many others it would be drawn at close friendships, and for most it would be drawn at dating or certainly marriage. Few then are oriented toward full, total social intergration.

These conclusions must be viewed cautiously: I feel certain that orientations toward this level of interpenetration are very sensitive to the nature of existing intergroup relations, which vary dramatically from place to place and, in a given place, across time. Obviously the strength and scope of affect prejudice is closely intertwined with the social-structure orientations.[26]

Psychological Ethnic Orientations

Previously I have indicated that there are at least two factors to be considered at the psychological level: one is Gordon's notion of "identification assimilation" and the other is patterns of out-group prejudice (i.e., toward Anglos in this case), particularly affect or "social distance" prejudice. Quite probably these two attributes are closely connected and measures of them should show a high correlation: the stronger the ethnic identification the higher the degree of negative prejudice held toward the out-group. Relative to our study we have nothing that really taps the notion of out-group prejudice. However, we did have indicator that could be used for ethnic identity: ethnic label preferences. A colleague at Texas A&M, Mike Miller, has analyzed our 1973 data in this regard: I will rely heavily on his findings here (Miller, 1976 and 1978).

Miller,(1976:240) found three broad patterns of label preferences among the rural Mexican American youth we studied: "Mexican Americans" (50%) "Chicano"(25%) and "Denial of Ethnicity"(15%).[27] By looking at responses to negative preferences as well, Miller concluded that the distinction between a preference for the labels "Mexican American" and "Chicano" indicated a meaningful difference in self-defined ethnicity--70% of those preferring Mexican American reacted negatively to Chicano.[28] His analysis also indicated

that the range of ethnic labels selected was more limited than what past literature would lead one to believe--"Less than 2% chose "Mexican" or "Mericano" and only two respondants preferred such labels as "Latin American and "Spanish American" (Miller, 1976:240).

Fitting Miller's reported findings to the inferential judgments about the association of "Desire for Ethnic Identification Types" and "Probable Labels" used by Mexican Americans (see p. 19) we get the following results:

Supreme Ethnic	=	0 (5%)
Prime Ethnic	=	27% (22%)
Biethnic	=	50%
Nominal or Denial	=	15%

I have placed all those preferring "Mexican" and "Mexicano", as well as Chicano in the "Prime Ethnic" category. According to Miller few of those preferring the label Chicano disliked the label Mexican American, which I interpret as evidence that they aren't "Supreme Ethnics". At any rate, I doubt that more than 5% of these would define themselves as "Militant Chicanos". (See Acuña, 1972:Chapter 9).

It is important to note that Miller observed dramatic gender differences in label preferences among these youth and, also, marked variability in patterning of preferences across local communities (Miller, 1976:244-45).

Obviously ethnic label preferences are dynamic phenomena. A number of observers, including Mike Miller and myself, speculate that preferences for the label Chicano have probably decreased in recent years. However, no firm data exists to support this proposition. Certainly, with the cooling-out of the once agressive Chicano Movement over the last several years it would seem reasonable to predict that at least the small number of "Militant Chicanos" that might have existed among rural youth in 1973 may have declined

in number. In my most recent field excursions in N.M. and South Texas I met no youth demonstrating this orientation. Furthermore, many were ambivalent about the labels "Chicano" and "Mexican American", giving me the impression that often they viewed them as equivalents. This may indicate that among rural Mexican American young people the negative evaluation of Chicano as a label may be in fact decreasing.

As far as we know no reported findings exist about the nature of negative prejudices held by rural Mexican American youth toward Anglos; furthermore, we did not have indicators of these incorporated into our study's instruments. The Dworkins have reported findings that Mexican Americans' tendency to negatively sterotype Anglos has apparently declined in recent years and that only minority proportions of their subjects held any single negative sterotype about Anglos (Dworkin and Dworkin, 1976:86-87). I know of no evidence to indicate that these findings do not characterize what exists among rural Mexican American youth. In my judgment extreme cognitive prejudice, sterotyping negatively, would be characteristic of only a few rural Mexican American youth. Affect prejudice, negative feeling or sentiment, is more often exhibited toward Anglos by these youth; however, I have no basis for judging how extensive different magnitudes of this affect prejudice are.[29] I feel sure that these would vary by contextual circumstances.

Summary of Findings

A summary overview of the inferences from the ex post facto analysis carried out is given in Table 3. Given the cautions stated previously, the overview table speaks for itself. Several prominent general conclusions can be drawn as follows:

(1) Relative to each level of potential intergroup fusion very few if any of rural Mexican American youth were oriented toward maintenance of extreme ethnic differentiation.

(2) Beyond the sweeping generalization provided above, a substantial amount of diversity existed, and the nature and degree of this diversity varied by level-type of fusion. This implies logically that a number of respondents had orientational configurations made up of desires for different amounts of interpenetration for different level-types of fusion (i.e. cultural vs. psychological).

(3) The major type of orientation desired across the level-types in each case represented "substatioal"-but not "complete"-fusion. Clearly when each level type is considered separately, the subjects were predominately oriented toward a "pluralistic" state closely representing a logical outcome of the intergroup fusion process Greeley labeled "ethnogenesis". (Greeley 1974:309)

(4) A possibility exists, at least in terms of cultural and social-structural fusion, that the subjects were not uniformly in favor of comprehensive intergroup fusion across

Table 3. A Summary of Conclusions On the Minority-Group Orientations of Rural Mexican American Youth

Degree of Fusion Desired	A. Cultural	B. Social-Structural	C. Psychological
1. None	Very Few or None	None	Very Few
2. Limited	Few	Few	Substantial Proportion (20%--25%)
3. Substantial	Majority of Mixed Type --- Few of Dual Type	Through Secondary--Large Majority Through Some of Primary but not all--A substantial but small %	About Half
4. Complete	Small but substantial proportion.	Few	Substantial Proportion (15%)
Comments:	Language patterns used as major indicator	Major differentiation would take place between Secondary and Primary relations and relative to varying primary contexts.	Lable Preferences used as major indicator

all constituent elements or subdimensions to the same degree. (i.e., varying contexts of primary type relationships). This indicates a clear need for researchers and others to get more specific in examining these phenomena or in attempting to understand intergroup relations in terms of them.

Minority-Group Orientation Configurations?

Although I proposed earlier that subtypes of orientations might cluster in patterned ways across the level-types of fusion, particularly at the extremes, we can not evaluate this possibility from the style of analysis used here (i.e., aggregate analyses within level-type indicators). Several prior analyses which have examined correlations of indicators used here for elements of different level-types indicate the logical clustering one might anticipate might not in fact take place. Patella (1971) reported that proportional use of Spanish did not correlate highly with a number of variables thought to be associated with the notion of Mexican American ethnicity. Miller (1976) reported that label preference patterns did not correlate highly with language usage patterns. These results might be unique to our Texas data due to the fact that almost all rural, South Texas Mexican American youth are bilingual-we know that this is not the case for Mexican American youth located elsewhere (Grebler, et.al., 1970:Chpt.18) We will have to await new research to determine the way in which these subtypes cluster or not, and how these combinations might vary by region, locality, or other contextual considerations.

A Note On Gender Differences

In the prior analysis we have dealt with Mexican American rural youth as an undifferentiated social category, overlooking possibilities for other

status attributes (i.e., age and sex) to producae patterned variability in minority-group orientations. In doing the review of literature completed for the ex post facto analysis of Texas Youth Study data it became apparent that substantial gender differences in varying degrees existed in reference to almost every indicator utilized to infer types of minority-group orientations. While it is not my objective to systematically analyze gender variability in this regard, I feel compelled to at least make some note of the fact that there appears to be a strong patterned difference between Mexican American boys and girls relative to minority-group orientations. The accumulated findings would appear to indicate that Mexican American teenage girls are more likely to be assimilation-prone than their male counterparts: and , this patterned difference is strongest at the psychological level (ethnic indentification) and weakest at the cultural level of fusion. A brief overview of relevant findings is provided in Table 4.

In reference to all indicators but one (religiosity), the accumulated evidence indicates that the female subjects are more likely to be assimilation oriented than their male counterparts. This finding is certainly pregnant with implications about potential intergender conflicts in long-term interaction situations. It needs to be examined more thoroughly in future research, both in terms of its causes and consequences.[30]

Table 4. Summary Overview of Reported Research Indicating Possible Gender Difference In Minority-Group Orientations of Rural Mexican American Youth In Texas.

Indicator	Gender Differences		Report*
	Nature of Difference	Magnitude of Difference	
A. Cultural			
(1) Use of Spanish	Females < Males	Substantial	Patella & Kuvlesky (19
(2) Level of Occup. Aspir.	Females > Males	Substantial	Kuvlesky & Monk (1975)
(3) Wives Working (Sex Roles)	Females > Males	Marked	Marshall & Miller (197
(4) Religiosity	Females > Males	Substantial	Kuvlesky (1978) Kuvlesky (1979)
B. Psycological Identification			
(1) Prefer "Mexican American"	Females > Males	Marked	Miller (1976)
(2) Prefer "Chicano"	Females < Males	Marked	Miller (1976)
(3) "Anti-Chicano"	Females > Males	Marked	Miller(1978)

* All of these report analyses of data from the Texas Yough Study supported by The Texas Agricultural Experiment Station and directed by William P. Kuvlesky.

Discussion

Clearly, the analysis presented here is very limited in terms of its reliance on rural Texas youth-we know other youth in other regions and other place of residence types will vary to some degree. It is also limited in terms of the observations and measures available even within this limited scope of focus. Still, the reported results demonstrate the potential of the analytical scheme constructed here and point to the research and action potentials of making a more precise and thorough examination of the notion of "minority-group orientations". Given what the above analysis demonstrates it is fool-hearty to allow the simplistic notions we have about minority-group orientations to prevail (i.e., Schermerhorn's simple dichotomy of tendencies). If we do, we will be as guilty as our ancestoral collegues in creating or perpetuating new destructive sterotypes which will plague the hopes and dreams of those we label "minorities" in our society. I strongly believe we must fight this tendency to over-simplify.

To understand and thereby to gain the ability to alter the sector of human reality we call "majority-minority group relations" we will have to develop clearer more precise notions of how minority group members conceive, perceive, and evaluate these things. In addition, it goes without saying that we must do this in the context of majority orientations and the actual patterned relationship existing. Expect diversity on all fronts and you won't be misguided from the start!

Does it make a difference whether or not we can understand the nature of minority-group orientations; and, if we do, to understand how they relate to majority-group orientations and policy? Here are two conversations I ask you to understand and appreciate.[31] Then draw your own conclusions.

In the following, using fictious names, I report a dialogue that took place between two men in a little country meeting place in South Texas less than a year ago:

> Daniel Martinez - "Chicanos, they are crazy. They think they are so smart; but all they do is cause trouble - get people mad. I am a Mexicano - that's what my father was. That's good enough for me. That's what we are. What's wrong with that? The Chicanos and those lazy "Illegals" from the "Colonia" cause all the problems. Our kids are learnin English - then they be alright!"
>
> Gilberto Mantu - "Hell man, Chicano is a good name! That's what I am - A Chicano - and I'm proud of it. If it wasn't for us where would these other lazy fuckers be? It's too bad there aren't more of us around here. Most of these people are afraid to speak out - fraid for their jobs. No Anglo is going to tell me when I can eat. We were here before them - let them go back where they came from."

As an aside, it is of interest to note that the small group talking and drinking beer in this place were speaking Spanish 'til I came in and was introduced to those I didn't know. Then most of the time the conversation was in English or a mixture of English and Spanish.

Here is another example from the other side of the ethnic fence. This dialogue is fabricated, but I've heard similar ones many times:

> Joe "Bleeding-Heart" Sociology Instructor - "What's wrong with these damned Chicano students here? They don't seem to care about anything but getting their grades and having a good time. I can't believe how passive they are: they don't seem to have any ethnic pride. Some even pretend they don't know Spanish. They kiss-ass and go-along to get along."
>
> Ed "Red-Neck" Engineering Grad Student - "They ought to chase them all back across the border. I hate them speaking Spanish all the time around me. These damned Mexicans ought to be glad to be in a fine school like this - instead, they're always bitchin about prejudiced Anglos and discrimination. They got old "Uncle" bending over backwards for them now: what else do they want? I wish somebody would give me an "opportunity grant"."

A little imaginative mixing of these four individuals will carry you a long way in appreciating the analytical and theoretical potential of the concept "minority-group orientation".

Footnotes

1. This tendency to misplace social concreteness is not new or unique to ethnic scholars as has been pointed out clearly by Greer (1969: 76-82). It represents an unconcious "sociological realist" bias that implicitly assumes "group" characteristics of any socially significant social or status category of a larger collectivity defined as a society or large community. Recently a cultural anthropologist, George L. Hicks (1977:1-35), has pointedly taken sociologists to task for this reification of their conception of ethnic group and discusses the confusion it produces. Warner's classical treatment of racial stratification in terms of "caste-like" structures easily leads in this direction and Greeley's model of ethnogenesis also contributes to others misconceiving racial and ethnic categories as group-like entities (Feagin, 1978:Chpt.2; Dworkin and Dworkin, 1976:Chpt.3).
2. In my judgment the desire to deal with ethnic groups as organized subunits of a society to facilitate macro analysis lead both Gordon (1964) and Feagin (1978) into a process of treating ethnic and racial categories as though they were well organized social entities.
3. In reference to all the attributes noted I believe it is better to question their existence among those units we call "minority groups" rather than implicitly assuming their existence. As we move from macro toward micro levels of social organization the probability of "minority group" units actually being groups rather than negative status categories increases.
4. A number of analysts have come to the conclusion that the notion of a singular, monolithic cultural configuration representing a Mexican American subculture is highly questionable (Grebler, et.al., 1970:578-584; Stoddard, 1973:96-123; Christian, 1973; Rivera, 1978:1and 6;

Miller, 1978:225-227). This variability is structured in part by nativity, social class, region of the U.S., and, in my opinion, "Minority-group orientations".

5. In the past minority groups were equated with the notion of subordinate ethnic groups. This is no longer the case as demonstrated by Dworkin and Dworkin (1976: 22) as a result of their desire to include "women" under this label. As they indicate this means that we must drop the old criterion of endogamy as a defining attribute of the term minority group. This also implies clearly that we can have two subclasses of these negative status categories we label "minority groups" - those that display an actual or presumed subcultural aspect and those that may not.

6. Perhaps the first writer to clearly and explicitly focus on what I am calling "minority-group orientations" within a more inclusive theoretical frame is Schermerhorn (1970).

7. Feagin (1978:10-11) explicitly continues the crusade.

8. For instance see Dworkin and Dworkin (1976:373-399).

9. Evidence that the social category of Mexican Americans meet the defining criteria is well documented in a number of sources published since 1970 (Grebler, et.al., 1970; Acuna, 1972; Steiner, 1970; Stoddard, 1972, simmen, 1972; SSQ 53-4, 1973; Miller and Maril, 1978).

10. I rely on my understanding and treatment of "majority-group orientations" on Simpson and Yinger's (1965:20-25) notion of "Majority Group Policies". I have modified their notions of types of these only slightly.

11. Although none of the authors I have read totally ignore the notion of "minority-group orientations", only Schermerhorn treats this idea relatively fully.

12. This is what most scholars of intergroup relations really focus on (Gordon, 1964; Greeley, 1974; Feagin, 1978).
13. For different perspectives see Simpson and Yinger (1965:20-25), Feagin (1978:28-29), and Dworkin and Dworkin (1976:39-41).
14. The nature of minority-group orientations is determined by the same things "majority-group orientations" are: possible or potential states of intergroup contact and fusion.
15. Clearly a minority group member desiring full, complete assimilation will feel frustrated by an actual situation which blocks this aspiration either because of dominant group resistance or because of threatening postures of otherwise oriented minority group members.
16. See Feagin's (1978:29-31) critical reaction of Gordon's original scheme-it influenced my treatment of this phenomena conceptually.
17. Gordon (1964:71-81).
18. The evidence we have accumulated in our Texas Youth Study reports (to be described later) strongly suggest this is so.
19. Clearly the Black Panther members and the NAACP members would have difficulty in relating to one another, let alone have much prospect of working together toward a commonly defined and acceptable way to resolve the "Black-White problem" in the U.S..
20. At least one prominent political figure implied that the leaders of the "Chicano Revolt" in Crystal City were trying to create an internal Cuba-apparently meaning they were interested in revolution.
21. Our research indicates that fewer, but still many Mexican American Youth in rural South Texas can read and write Spanish (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1975).
22. If there is as much variability as I suspect in the extent to which different cultural elements or traits are maintained or not by particular

Mexican American families then it is absolutely necessary for researchers to begin examining a broader range of the potential universe of alternatives. For instance, to what extent do families and individuals still seek to honor the traditional holidays and participate in the celebration of them in traditional ways. If Greeley's notion of ethnogenesis has validity - and I think it does - we could expect general patterns of fusion to be showing up in varied ways relative to these cultural trait areas.

23. I suppose we here at Texas A&M have reviewed the literature on rural Mexican American youth as thoroughly as anyone. Still, there is a good chance that a report of such findings exists some place. If the reader is aware of such a report, we would be grateful to learn about it.

24. This took place in Brooks County, Texas during the period from December, 1978 through March 1979.

25. Of course the situation may well be different for adult Mexican Americans - I suspect that many of them are sensitized to Anglo dominance.

26. The usual "Social Distance" scales from which affect prejudice is inferred would in fact produce a direct measure of structural desires for intergroup contact.

27. I have modified Miller's reported proportions slightly by including several categories of responses he viewed as "euphinistic" as meaningful for the broader categories indicative of indentification types: for instance, I placed the 20% of respondents indicating they don't care about or like ethnic labels in the "Denial" category.

28. This opens up the question of whether or not the remaining 30% selecting Mexican American as the most liked label, but not disliking Chicano really see a difference in the meaning of the two labels.

29. See ft. #23.

30. Patella and Kuvlesky (1975) and Marshall and Miller (1978) have speculated at length on the reason for these gender differences.

31. Being humane as well as humanistic in my practice of sociology I am concerned about offending the moral sensibilities of my readers. For those I offend in my use of "crude" language in these examples I apologize for my decision to use these words. My wife, who typed this section, would be included among these. On the other hand, the words used are important in reflecting the mean reality of hostile feelings involved in these social situations and are necessary in my opinion to reflect as clearly as possible the truth as I perceive it. Most social scientists would understand and accept this judgment; however, hopefully not all the readers of this paper will be social scientists.

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